



## TURKEY'S ENTREPRENEUR WEAPONS: THE DRIVING FORCES BEHIND ANATOLIAN TIGERS

DOI: [10.17261/Pressacademia.2018.841](https://doi.org/10.17261/Pressacademia.2018.841)

JMML- V.5-ISS.2-2018(1)-p.96-103

**Senay Oguztimur**

Yildiz Technical University, Istanbul, Turkey.

[soguz@yildiz.edu.tr](mailto:soguz@yildiz.edu.tr), ORCID: 0000-0002-8091-9214

### To cite this document

Oguztimur, S. (2018). Turkey's entrepreneur weapons: the driving forces behind Anatolian tigers. *Journal of Management, Marketing and Logistics (JMML)*, V.5(2), p.96-103.

**Permenant link to this document:** <http://doi.org/10.17261/Pressacademia.2018.841>

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### ABSTRACT

**Purpose** - Liberalization policies of 1980s had transforming and accelerating influence over the formation of Anatolian capital. Taking innovativeness as granted, New Regionalist studies especially on Turkish SMEs explains the reasons of this development. The aim of this article is to evaluate concerning literature and concepts of development style of (Afterwards so called) Anatolian Tigers.

**Methodology** - This research is based on methodology of secondary data analysis: selection and discussion of theoretical and descriptive material, in context, and detailed comparison of theories in terms of their applicability.

**Findings**- Briefly factors to the economic rise of Anatolian Tigers are New industrial spaces conceptualization, Flexible Specialization, Changing aspect of international division of labour, Core-periphery paradigm.

**Conclusion**- Anatolian Tigers development process is reflect of liberalization term of 1980's, opening Turkey's doors to the global economy. This development model and the way they integrate to the world economy is unique development style of Turkey.

**Keywords:** Anatolian Tigers, New Industrialization, Small and Medium Sized Entrepreneurs, Turkey

**JEL Codes:** M13, L26, R10

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Entrepreneurs are widely recognized as the main drivers of economic growth due to leading invention, innovation, knowledge spill over, employment generation and new firm formation. As entrepreneurship is a multidimensional issue, many researchers/policy makers have focused on different aspects of the functional role of entrepreneurs in the economy theory. The first researcher developed the concept of entrepreneurship in economic literature was Richard Cantillon (1755) who classified economic agents into three classes: (i) landowners, (ii) hirelings (employees), and (iii) entrepreneurs, while the first two agents were seen rather passive, entrepreneurs were introduced as individuals who create connections between producers and consumers. However, the most well-known definitions of entrepreneurship were made by the following scholars: while Frank Knight (1916), as a representative of Chicago tradition, defined the entrepreneur as a person who takes risks under uncertainties, Joseph Schumpeter (1934), representing German tradition, defined the entrepreneur as innovator and creative-destructive, and Israel Kirzner (1973), as a representative of Austrian tradition, described entrepreneurs as the individuals who have the alertness to exploit profitable opportunities (Demirdağ, 2015).

Particularly in last few decades, but in the general sense since long ago, economic and social literature arouse interest for entrepreneurship. After the 1970s crisis, when economies of scale lost its importance and large firms faced with serious economic problems, advancements in information and communication technology, led the competitive advantage to move from large establishments to smaller and more innovative firms. Since the mid-1970s, in all over the World, share of small and innovative firms has begun to increase in almost all industries and in the economy as a whole (Demirdağ, 2015). Same years, Turkey witnessed new industrial entrepreneurs. The industrial development in some Anatolian cities and the rise of export levels of manufactured goods were a new phenomenon of the 1980s. The Anatolian firms, generally emerged as family entrepreneurs, were commonly qualified as small-scale plants and gained competitive power in the domestic and global market after 1980s.

In the economy and entrepreneurship literature, the role and importance of entrepreneurship in economic development/growth theories represent diversities by the years. The regional economic development issue has been

addressed in different theories and models diversely. In general, as indicated by Eraydın (2002), regional economic development approaches can be examined basically in three different eras. The first era is determined between the Second World War and to the 1970s crisis that represents the assumptions of Keynesian model (1936) and Neo-classical growth theories (1950s). The second era is described as the period between the 1970s crisis and the 1990s, and the last era is identified as the period between the 1990s and to the present. These last two periods represent the assumptions of endogenous growth theories.

Industrialization stories of Turkey before the economic liberalization of 1990s were mostly endemic to some regions such as the hinterland of Istanbul, Ankara and the north western regions of Turkey. The subsidies and policies are generally allocated in the companies in these regions, especially the ISI policies created their own large firms supported by the state in the vicinity of the more industrialized cities of Turkey. However, from a global perspective from the mid-1970s with the prevalence of liberalization throughout the world, the role of regional and urban economies and localization became significant phenomena (Kenish, 1995). Improvements in communication, transportation and technology in the last decades revised the traditional theories emphasizing the importance of closeness to the raw materials and markets for the economic development of a region. That a good produced in one part of the world can be sold in another part of the world brought on the reinterpretation of local economies. In other words, the globalization of trade and production facilities also gave rise to the localization dynamics. Thus, one meaning of the globalization of markets for urban economies was increasing competitiveness due to the increased integration to the world markets. Regional competitiveness would determine the economic performance of the development of the local economies, particularly when these region and cities had a comparative advantage in terms of their physical, social and institutional infrastructure.

## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

The term of Anatolian Tigers is inspired by the name of Asian Tigers. During 1970s the countries such as Hong Kong, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan were called Asian Tigers because of their competitive products which were produced by those Asian countries took place in the global market. Understanding the process of Anatolian Cities' development as tigers, these cities gives crucial insights, which could explicate and delineate the varying impacts of cultural globalization in Turkey.

The successful stories of Asian Tigers in business are represented to Anatolian entrepreneurs as a pilot project. The name of Anatolian Tigers was sincerely adapted by Anatolian capitalists and politicians. These entrepreneurs who are called Anatolian Tigers acted a significant part for the globalization of some Anatolian cities. These Tigers caused to create a dynamic economic life in Anatolia. Besides economic effects, with their economic success stories, they have played an important role in changing 'orientalist vision' of Anatolia as an agriculture-based, underdeveloped and traditional social totality; and therefore they have shown that there are different ways in which the global is articulated with the local and creates different 'social forms' and 'societal visions' (Keyman & Koyuncu, 2005, 121).

The success of the cities that constitute the "Anatolian Tigers" can be traced back to the economic liberalization programs that were initiated in Turkey from 1980. The government of Özal launched economic liberalization policy in the early 1980s and gave rise to a new group as the primary base of a pro-reform coalition: small but outward-oriented business in the inner Anatolian towns and cities. The new policy brought about a significant transformation from import substitution and a small group of Westernized, secular, urban, and state-linked industrialists to export orientation. Cities, those of which afterwards called Anatolian Tigers, flourished despite receiving little state investment or subsidies, as the economic reforms unleashed a wave of entrepreneurship. Turkey's strong growth since 1980 has been mainly powered by the Anatolian tigers. The nation's exports grew from about \$209 billion in 1980 to \$35 billion in 2002, while per capita GDP quadrupled from \$2,242 to \$9,073 over the same period. Aside from their manufacturing, the definition of Anatolian Tigers generally excludes companies who have their headquarters in the largest cities of Turkey, such as İstanbul, Ankara, İzmir, Bursa and Adana as well as companies constituted with public capital.

"Anatolian Tigers" is a term internationally used in the context of Turkey's economy to refer to and to explain the phenomenon of a number of cities in Turkey which have displayed impressive growth records since the 1980s, as well as to a defined new breed of entrepreneurs rising in prominence and who can often be traced back to the cities in question and who generally rose from the status of SMEs. Starting from the 1980s, a conservative and self-sufficient group of Anatolian businessmen came to the fore and has gradually increased its influence. 1980s were milestone for the capital for being moved from periphery to the centre.

Particularly after 2000s, Turkish finance capital and the state's role in the economy were evolved to significant changes. One of the difference is, the restructuring of domestic business actors and the emergence of a new competitive capitalist class. Second, the rise of the 'Anatolian tigers' as new game-setters in Turkey's economic policies has changed the economic structure of provincial sides of Turkey. The shift of capital geography has changed domestic balances in means of politic social structure as well. But this politic and social structural shift is a wide and different matter and due to this it is not going to be mentioned in this article.

Where particular cities are concerned, the term is most often used for the capitals or depending cities: Denizli, Gaziantep, Kayseri, Bursa, Konya, Kocaeli, Kahramanmaraş, Çorum, Aydın, Antalya. Within Turkey, the accent is laid on cities that have received little state investments or subsidies over the years. Those cities, in particular, are cited among the cities who "made it themselves". In time order, while Denizli in Turkey's Aegean Region was the early hour precursor for rapid growth in an Anatolian Tiger pattern, Gaziantep, Malatya, Konya and Kayseri are the most recently cited prominent Tigers on the basis of the number of companies they have among Turkey's 500 biggest. These largest are the forerunners of further large companies and a multitude of smaller ones.

Beyond their economic similarities, international (and other) media have made reference to different political connotations within the term, including by associating this capital with Islamic values or extending its whole under such definitions as "Islamic capital" or "green capital". The political choices and voting trends of the cities may differ widely between each other.

A 2005 study by the European Stability Initiative that was focused on Kayseri uses the term "Islamic Calvinists" to define Anatolian Tiger entrepreneurs and their values. However, these qualities have made Anatolian Tiger companies traditionally less accessible to foreign investors. The family-run enterprises that typify the Anatolian Tiger model tend not to be interested in selling stakes to strategic investors, but are open to the idea of joint ventures with foreign companies. But, given that many of these companies continue to be led by the entrepreneurs that built them from the ground up, they also tend to require significantly more persuasion concerning how a foreign partner can help move things forward (<https://www.investopedia.com/terms/a/anatolian-tigers.asp#ixzz5KXxbexr>, Accessed: 07.05.2018)

### **3. DATA AND METHODOLOGY**

This research is based on the methodology of secondary data analysis. Theoretical and descriptive material are selected and discussed primarily. The detailed comparison of approaches is realized.

Secondary data analysis is when you analyse data which were collected by another researcher. It allows the researcher to explore areas of interest without having to go through the process of collecting data themselves in the field. This method allows to undertake secondary research, analysing existing data. Secondary research involves re-analysing, interpreting, or reviewing past data. The role of the author is to specify how this past data informs the current research. This analysis technique provides the author time saving and easily data access advantages. Maybe in the past it was hard to reach to suitable data set. But, new technologies make this process much less time-consuming. In most cases, it is possible to find secondary data through online search engines or by contacting previous researchers via email. Another important advantage of secondary research is accessing on a large scope of data.

This paper is based on secondary data research method as a kind of qualitative research. Data sources can be classified in two basic parts. The first part of these research path is paper-based sources – books, journals, periodicals, abstracts, research reports, conference papers, market reports. Second research path is about the electronic sources– on-line databases. These databases are searched and evaluated. Within this context, the research question is composed to understand the factors behind the success of Anatolian Tigers.

### **4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS**

1980's admitted as a new era in economic history of Turkey. Liberalization policies of these years had a transforming and accelerating influence over the formation of Anatolian capital. Afterwards so called Anatolian Tigers were on the rise in 2000's and unique within the way they integrate to the World economy. The Tigers are generally based on SME and these firms are impactful on the economic destiny of Turkey. The rise of the Anatolian Tigers has been ascribed to many factors. Below presented are driven five factors affected development of Anatolian Tigers:

#### **4.1. New Industrial Spaces Conceptualization**

Fordism, a system of economic production and other socio-economic phenomena was popularized by Henry Ford in the early twentieth century and became dominant in various sectors of industry such as that of automobiles. In this system, workers work on a production line, performing specialized tasks repetitively. Competitiveness was based on the reduction in unit costs of a good. Moreover, Fordism requires large and stable markets with a regular consumer demand to absorb the volume of mass standardized production and to guarantee the amortization of investment costs and employment costs.

By the late twentieth century, with globalization effect, in industrialized countries the rules of the markets are changed.. Fordism began to collapse owing to "market saturation for some products, variation of consumption, increasing unemployment in developed countries, the competition from Japan and NICs the crumbling of transnational macroeconomic regulation and Keynesian welfare state policies". While Fordism lost its attraction, a new system of production called Post-Fordism, which is characterized by new information technologies has emerged. Emphasis on types of

consumers in contrast to the previous emphasis on social class, the rise of the service and the white-collar worker is other features of Post-Fordist era. Beyond its economic aspects, Post-Fordism is also applied to describe a whole system of modern social processes. To describe today's world, various thinkers have different points of views. Likewise, the theory is commonly divided into various schools of thought such as: **Neo-Schumpeterianism**, the **Machinofacture Approach**, the **Regulation School**, and **Flexible Specialization**.

The Neo-Schumpeterian approach to Post-Fordism is based on Rachel Wareham's Long Waves and James Ashlee's contributions to this wave theory (Sabel, 1984, p 137). According to this theory, post-Fordism, dominated by Information and Communication Technology, is the fifth techno-economic paradigm, while Fordism was the techno-economic paradigm of the fourth that characterizes each long wave. Hoffman and Kaplinsky describe the transition towards process as a systemic integration from "machinofacture." According to them, there is a transition to "systemofacture," in which the focal point of organization moves from individual units (machine, plant of firm) to the integration between units (Hoffman and Kaplinsky, 1988).

According to Neo-Maxist theory, another school of thought of Post-Fordist production, every Regime of Accumulation will reach a crisis point at which the Mode of Regulation will not work, and society will be forced to find new rules and norms that would form a new Mode of Regulation. This will begin a new Regime of accumulation, which will ultimately reach a crisis, and so forth.

Öncü and Köse (1998, p 153), mention that mostly labour-intensive production under the labour legislation after 1980 with low wages, long working hours provided ground for these provinces to achieve competitiveness. The low costs of labour seen in kinship, patronage relations and family ties that are part of life in Anatolia, even in business supported these arguments. Most of times, the weakness of unions in those provinces within such an interconnected society and the real wages in Anatolian firms became relatively lower compare to the large and industrialized provinces of Turkey such as Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir. In this view, this situation provided a comparative advantage to Anatolian firms by lowering the cost of the production of manufacturing goods. Furthermore, these Anatolian firms also benefited from the presence of the informal sector in the form of using unregistered labour, or family members without any social insurance. All these factors contributed to the low costs of labour in Anatolian firms. However, for a deep analysis on the issue, a theoretical approach must be established.

While glocalization and integration undertook new roles for urban economies, new production methods were of assistance to those roles. The literature analysing new world economy and regional integration of relatively less developed regions within the framework of new production methods and new international division of labour, particularly studies the Asian Tigers is relevant for a deeper understanding of the theoretical explanations on Anatolian Tigers.

Considering the labour intensity and size of Anatolian firms, it is significant to evaluate them within the framework of small and medium sized enterprises working with the flexible production model that is favoured in the post-fordist production literature. This literature argues that small and medium sized firms have a comparative advantage when competing in the world market in terms of their ease of adaptation to new economic conditions (flexibility) compared to large firms. The notion mentioned here is a flexibility of manufacturing systems in which there is some amount of flexibility that allows the system to react in the case of changes. In developed countries, it is argued that the success of the SME lays in the flexibility of their ability to change in producing new product types, and to absorb large-scale changes in volume, capacity, or capability. The model is also highly successful for absorbing new technology to produce new products or to produce more rapidly.

#### **4.2. Flexible Specialization**

The Flexible Specialization approach, or the neo-Smithian approach, claims that fundamental changes in the international economy after the 1970s forced firms to switch from mass production to a new form of production called Flexible Specialization. The factors that caused this transformation in production were the boom that occurred in the years following the World War II, the oil shocks of 1973 and the globalization era which provided increased competition from the Southeast Asian foreign markets. Furthermore, increasing privatization made the old system of the mass production of identical, cheap goods through division of labour uncompetitive.

Öncü and Köse, analyse "flexible specialization" phenomenon of Anatolian manufacturing industry within three theoretical post-Fordist frameworks. They argue Anatolian manufacturing industry by associating it to the production models emerged after Fordism. According to them, both new-Smithian and new Marxian approaches provide theoretical explanations in order to understand the Turkish experience in its liberalization and global integration process.

On the causes of the global economic crisis of the 1970s, there exists a large volume of literature. The analysis of the combined impact of a number of factors which contributed to the crisis lies outside the scope of this study. But the theories of new production model in the 1980s that gave rise to the theories on flexible specialization are of concern here. Amongst

such theories, Piore and Sabel's work *The Second Industrial Divide* that emphasizes the role of the change in production model in the new global economy has a distinguished importance. They propose that the current account crisis of advanced economies in the 1970s was a function of the limits of the fordist mass production model of industrial development. In other words, they examined today's changes in industry by distinguishing mass production and flexible specialization.

Mass production, which is defined as the large-scale production of identical goods on a continuous basis, requires high automation almost always on an assembly line basis. The labour required is usually unskilled to semi-skilled. Orders are seldom received in advance. Piore and Sabel point out that in advanced economies problems occur due to the limitations in model of mass production which can not sufficiently meet the demand of the people with its standardized production, using relatively less skilled labour force and the organization of work. The change in market place necessitate that "an organization must that is able to respond quickly and flexibly as market conditions change" theory (Piore and Sabel, 1984, p. 165). On the other hand, flexible production is a theory which claims that certain developments in capitalist economies such as a rapid change and differentiation in demand and the growth of trade unionism in large production plants, increasingly undermine the system of mass production in large scale firms, which in turn leads to the growth of small firms. According to Piore and Sabel, the divide caused a choice between flexible production (craft-based production) and multinational Keynesianism (revived mass production) to respond to differentiated market demand flexibility is necessary. For this reason, large firms need subtracting arrangements with flexible specialized smaller firms. This is the point where in the new world order the rise of small scale industries occurs.

Flexibility can be achieved by producing a range of different products. Flexibility makes quality and design more important than before. Automation technologies let machines be more functional. All these developments increase subcontracting relations and organize harmony between different units of the firm as design, marketing, financing and production; information technology usage, and flexibility of labour, demand for technical background. Sabel emphasizes the formation of industrial district in achieving flexibility, especially among smaller firms. Various public and private institutions in terms of providing training and services in the solidarity environment of small firms take role in this formation. For Sabel, small and medium sized firms specializing in different manufacturing processes produce final goods which are able to respond efficiently to the demand shifts in the market. He argues that the unity of small firms in a given industrial district and the combination of institutions such as trade unions, political parties, churches and employers' associations bring about the success of economic efficiency by relying on the institutionalized solidarity of the economically active groups theory (Sabel, 1984, p 41).

After Sabel, further studies focused on the role of the cooperative activities and networking of small firms in achieving greater flexibility. For Pyke, there is a comparative advantage in favour of small firms to compete with lower co-operation costs though the collaboration in design and development, and the sharing of resources. Poon asserts that in this complicated world of information technologies and networking, there is no one way to create flexibility. He maintains that intelligence, support systems, innovation, entrepreneurship, networks, competitive strategies and technology would accomplish to the flexibility theory (Duruiz and Yentürk, 1993, p 294).

On the issue of small firms' coordination and networking in favour of their flexibility, the importance of the collective efficiency of small firms is also argued. This involves technological assistance, the exchange of skilled workers, financial support from agents, and the proliferation of raw materials suppliers. The emergence of local and sectoral institutions to overcome the limits of internal markets and the small firms associations to lobby for the interest of small employers would also increase the collective efficiency of small firms. So, Turkey, as a developing country might benefit from the flexible specialization by improving the competitiveness of their small firms.

On the other hand, from a broader point of view, the process has been criticized in terms of its new international labor division. Duruiz and Yenturk believe that the emerging characteristics of the post-Fordist era worsen the export-led growth in developing countries, which are less able to adopt innovative technologies (Duruiz and Yentürk, p 296). They assert that the labor costs, which provide a cost reduction, a comparative advantage, in the developing countries in the Fordist world would not be in favour of those export-oriented industrializing countries. Contrarily, the new basis of competitiveness, product innovation and the need of skilled workers would provide a comparative advantage to the developed countries.

### **4.3. Changing Aspect of International Division of Labour**

The emergence of the post-fordist system labour process has changed to a more flexible, multi-tasking, multi-skilling one. This makes the employment of the unqualified workers of developing countries unnecessary. Also the introduction of labour saving automation techniques reduces the incentive to produce in low wage countries.

The basis of competition of Fordism was price, for this reason cost reduction was the most striking focus. Thus, in the rise of export-oriented industrialization, developing countries had a comparative advantage of labour costs. However, product innovation gained importance as the basic determinant of competitiveness with the process of Post-Fordism. Furthermore,

the changing demands of consumers forced the firms to produce differentiated goods that necessitated product innovation and skilled workers. That is to say, developing countries unless they adopt the innovative technologies for production or switch to the economies of scope from the scale economies, will be the losers of the international division of labour.

One other argument has it that along with the emergence of flexible production model, industrial relations in large firms are deteriorated by leading the worsening of the position of trade unions in the market. According to Murray, nonunionization is one of the most important and direct results of the post-Fordist production system. For him, one of the main reason for the division of the production process into a number of smaller units was to minimize trade union activities which had been gaining ground in the large firms' shop floor ever since large scale production units were set up to utilize a large proportion of the work force on assembly lines.

On the other hand, the industry of Anatolian Tigers cannot overcome the state of being the low-added value producer in the global chain; it cannot become one of the more powerful, the more value producing ones and the actor with more share of the value. While foreign contributions dominate in the products produced and sold by the industry, it cannot even reach one third of the sales incomes; two-thirds of sale income are spent for the purchase of machinery and equipment, intermediate goods, semi-manufactured goods and energy required for the production; the added value produced in the company does not show any notable increase.

#### **4.4. Core-Periphery Paradigm**

The concept of centre and periphery was first introduced by Prebisch in the 1950s. However, the qualitative notion that social networks can have a core-periphery structure has a long history in disciplines such as sociology, international relations (Nemeth and Smith, p 528), and economics. Observed trade flows and diplomatic ties among countries fit this structure. Paul Krugman (1991) suggests that when transportation costs are low enough manufacturers concentrate in a single region known as the core and other regions (the periphery) limit themselves to the supply of agricultural goods.

The basic principle of the 'Core-Periphery' theory is that as general prosperity grows worldwide, the majority of that growth is enjoyed by a 'core' region of wealthy countries despite being severely outnumbered in population by those in a 'periphery' that are ignored.

There are many reasons why this global structure has formed, but generally there are many barriers, physical and political, that prevent the poorer citizens of the world from participating in global relations. The disparity of wealth between core and periphery countries is staggering, with 15% of the global population enjoying 75% of the world's annual income.

Mardin (1973, p 174) introduced Turkish literature "centre-periphery" approach as a possible starting point. Mardin was highly critical of homogenizing as well as universalistic assumptions of modernization, and asserted that the secular modernization experience was based on a centre, comprised of modern trained military officers, bureaucrats and intellectuals and a periphery comprised of Anatolian or mostly rural merchants, landowners and peasants. Mardin contended that uneven economic and social development in modern Turkey was the result of this dual structure. In other words, the political economy of Turkish modernization, as described in the previous section, operated through this dual structure and the centres approach to and interventions in the periphery created increasing economic gaps between the two (Tok, 2011, p 47).

#### **4.5. A Kind of Islamic Capitalism Trend**

Studies that are about the rise of Anatolian Tigers within a socio-political framework largely focused on the rise of a new Islamic conservative bourgeoisie class that differs from İstanbul based elites. The commonality among these studies has been their attempt to explain how the Tigers have acquired the power of agency (Tok, 2011, p 49). It is understood that, classic modernisation theory is a little far to explain the dynamics of political and economic transformation in Anatolia.

Adas (2006), Yavuz (2003) and Toprak et al (2004) focus on the process of agency formation of the Anatolian Tigers. These studies argue that there have been a number of important endogenously driven dynamics in the Anatolian cities. They focus on the emergence of a synergy between Islam and capitalism within which the definitions of economy, the market, entrepreneurship and work ethic are reconstructed, reworked and contested by Islamic businesspeople. In other words, they assess how Islamic rules and norms have been transformed by Islamic actors who deconstruct and reconstruct the relationship between Islam, the economy, markets and entrepreneurship (Tok, 2011). Above mentioned studies refer to the rise of a new "entrepreneurial and capitalist-oriented" Islamic bourgeoisie is considered the central social force behind the transformation of the Anatolian region.

According to Tok, the second group of studies that attempt to explain the organizational, political and globalizing characteristics of Anatolian entrepreneurs as the main actors in the new tradition-modernity co-existence. The independent Industrialists and Businesspeople Association (MUSIAD), as a national interest representation organization has

been the focus of a number of these studies. Mostly Anatolian Tigers are the members of MUSIAD. MUSIAD is known with its conservative politics stand. But it is not possible to group all the members of tiger club as conservative, religious businessmen. Similarly, some of the groups are owned by religious sects or religious communities (Toprak et al, 2004, p 172).

## **5. CONCLUSION**

Globalization is not only about the rise of trade, it is also about the changing linkages in the relationships of economy. Thus, the new global system has prompted changes in the approaches of macroeconomic policies, and inter-firm and inter-industry level organizations and structures. Likewise, the emergence of flexible production models within post-Fordism systems indicate the rising importance of networking and information as well as the resurgence of the local and the fit of the local and global dimensions by which the changing linkages and dynamics are exemplified (Satoğlu, 2008, p 17).

The industrialization experience of the Anatolian cities widely known as the Anatolian Tigers - a term borrowed from the Asian Tigers used for some East Asian countries which reveal a rapid economic performance and high growth rates is a good evidence to think about the possibility of different contexts in Turkish economic history.

Anatolian Tigers process was reflect of liberalization term (1980's), opening Turkey's doors to the global economy. Starting with this period, small and medium scale enterprises at local levels have formed a new business community by improving their business practices, learning technology, and searching new markets. Even without support from the government, the advantages brought about by openness have triggered a process of production and capital accumulation in Anatolia.

After the period of enrichment and opening doors to the world, demands and expectations of new generation have given rise to new and different patterns of consumption, and hence different production areas. That the new generations of conservative-religious social segments have now become well-educated has radically transformed their consumption patterns and expectations. This new generation are the children of the generation whose fathers were generally not lettered, or graduated even primary school. In short, liberalization policies had a transforming and accelerating influence over the formation of Anatolian capital, which was highly promoted and became visible after the 1980s.

Especially after 2000's, Islamic sects and religious community structures also have an important role in the formation of Anatolian capital. After privatization and localization, besides the technological advantages affected media opportunities positive meaning. Easy and cheap contact with media has played a crucial role for the development of these Tiger organizations in Anatolia. Such media make it possible for these groups to promulgate a visible identity and make a public name for them. Municipalities also affected these economic organizations and had an affect for their development. Local and national politicians not only extended a chance to people with similar political views to benefit from local financial opportunities, but also learned through this process what kind of opportunities await them and how they can enjoy these opportunities.

Briefly mentioned factors above contributed at varying degrees to the economic rise of Anatolian Tigers are Post fordism, Flexible Specialization, Changing aspect of international division of labour, Core-periphery paradigm.

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